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177 here, mainly because — in the absence of an obliterative legislative act — I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

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428 A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society — throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilineal marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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[217] kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*¹ are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political
621 abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging
[794] to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

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618 ¹ *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Aillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilineal marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilineal marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup-

776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-
chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
794 involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
993 act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
794 shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
613 community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil.

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible members* (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatuse*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

24) to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of
794 their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition
628 of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation
there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual
responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended
throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity,
the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may
participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two
congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phe-
nomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed
a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries,
which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of
religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation
are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilineal
[595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which
seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching
marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-
linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the
ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obliga-
[613] tions to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-
receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights
and duties.

794 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are
613 necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matri-
[582] lateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious
[178] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche
became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these
changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual ac-
tion have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, how-
ever, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the
extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Ma-
puche system of religious morality were to become transformed into
a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-
congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in
[754] placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super-
[753] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame
[754] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than
to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual
congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment. 794
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All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatuse* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatuse* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatuse* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility. 241
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With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring 764
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11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RITUAL CONGREGATIONALISM

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

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The core of most responsible lineages at any funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests.

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The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

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11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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INTERPRETATIVE SUMMARY

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multigroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilinear reservation group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the *ñillatun* ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurün*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

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1978 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilineal marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

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1977 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

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[765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuiſiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives
place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes
to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great
frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person
actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize
this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the
encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the
social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general
manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are
in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and
better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after
the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the re-
sponsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies
with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is,
therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche
society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic
ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals
and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living
and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss
with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those gener-
[184] alized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a
pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who
drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the
Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of
the sun) which occasionally appear at the *Nillatun* ceremonies
held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously
been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I
consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
769 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
776 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of
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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilineal system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *Nillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
 776 analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate some-
 794 thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*,
 184 sometimes *trakalfucha*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as
 an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes
 on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder,
 under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly
 conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god
 of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is
 taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal
 groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congrega-
 tions, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the moun-
 tains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically
 coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional
 affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with notice-
 able overlapping among geographically proximate units of the
 population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
 776 impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
 184 between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something
 which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of
 loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative
 importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The
 most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with
 respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later
 regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genea-
 logical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of
 relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here,
 though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these
 half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal
 descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It
 is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the
 area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche
 lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to
 place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of
 the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
 613 dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and
 only then. Apart from this, this is no confusion in establishing

Dimensions of the Supernatural World

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *ñenechen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kin-groups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifische* or *kuifipellu*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenechen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *ñenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *awn*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. ○○○

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Four: THE RITUAL CONCRECATION.
LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
 771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
 776 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
 184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
 794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
 social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstan-
 tiated references to regional differences in either cultural or
 social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñilketun* and *awn* rites have
 796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
 769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
 782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
 is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a
 conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche
 ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and
 ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from
 analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological
 sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and
ñilketun, regardless of differences. An important though by no
 means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the
 two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the
 recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñilketun* is at
 least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñilketun* is a
 fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors
 for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned
 with authentic ancestors, *ñilketun* more with mythical, regional
 deities, and *ñenachen*. But the two ceremonies are more than
 merely complementary; they are duplicatory rites based on a
 common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distin-
 guishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinc-
 tion is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñilketun* embody a
 common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral
 spirits and *ñenachen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the
 dispersion of evil spirits from the communal field. Furthermore,
 (194) although there are structural and compositional differences
 inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual
 congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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times. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *fillatan* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *fillatan* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on driving away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *fillatan* and *wengün* (the action) imply the delivery of offerings to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *oferta* being equated with *awn*, and associated with both *fillatan* and *wengün*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Fillatan

Fillatan congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilinear aggregation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interest in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one unit or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *fillatan* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through R₆ with ABC horizontally hatched (see p. 115 for an explanation of diagonal hatching and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *fillatan*. Reservations A-BC hold a *fillatan* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible adult every year. Such an arrangement often an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

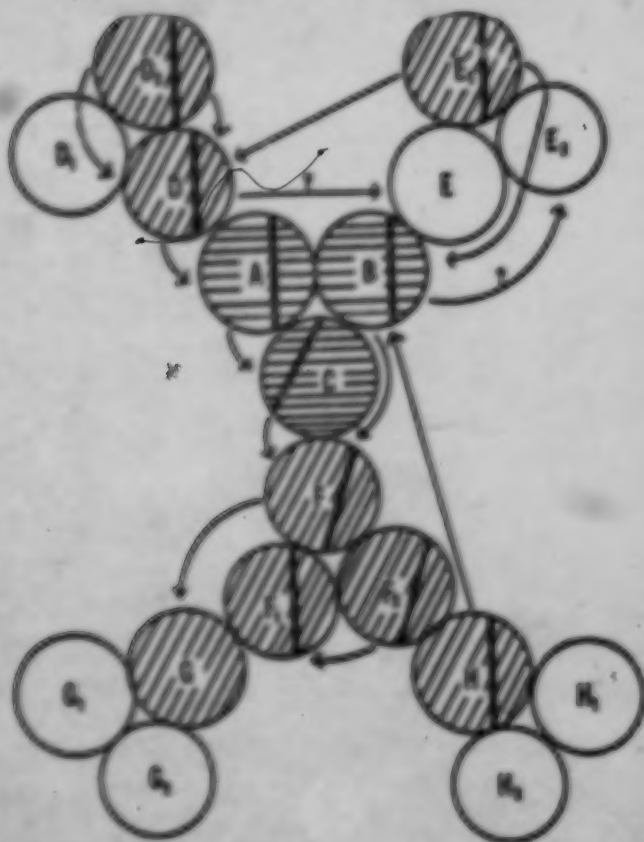
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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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HAWKS OF THE SUN

DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations
 in a Ritual Congregation



Each circle indicates a reservation, ritual
 and marriage site of a particular group with each other.

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celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units¹ (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.²

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

¹ This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapuche land, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

² I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Es could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and non-coincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F₁-F₂ plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F₁-F₂ cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of participation. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G₁ and G₂ might not. In addition, G₁ might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G₂ is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[228] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as
models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of
marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows
indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to
a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal
number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned
(matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The
fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation
A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or
elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the
purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the
matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congrega-
tion are of importance in indicating that there are even more
multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model.
Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not
indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the
definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the
correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore,
are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
094 have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
621 with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We
613 may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
582 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
178 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
177 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
[66] marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
because household units would split and their members move
considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation sys-
tem put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilineal system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilineal marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilineal cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *niuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilineal preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1-54) and multilinal ritual congregations (I-IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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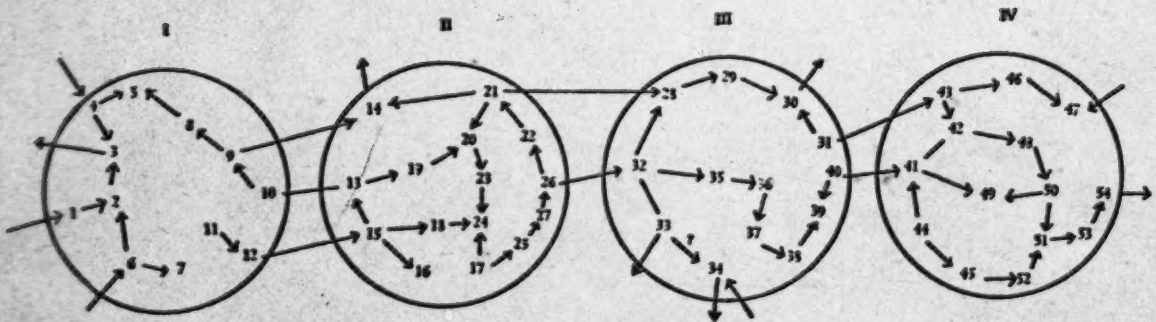
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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and
 Ritual Congregations



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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilineal system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
621 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[198] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their
influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations
of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is
becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional
congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon
related to the maturity of the reservation system and an
indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in
regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed
symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to
obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated
from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of
land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man
looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are
limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since
he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are
so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that
might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and
mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilineal
context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and
obligations, which usually exist between two groups united
through a succession of alliances, alliances over several genera-
tions which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year
of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilineal form, the units involved tended more
198 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
198 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the
transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F₁-F₂, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilineal marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

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century developments and given its character to Mapuche society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that some significant changes have taken place in the structure of ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

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Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages. In any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate understanding of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidal melewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.³

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

³ While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral
community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral
responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again,
mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become
generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere.
They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the
ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the
entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk
with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the
622 absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
613 mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
755 Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
ñillatufe from a participant reservation to officiate. When there
are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it
presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from
another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
622 between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
769 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical
responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally
supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe*
of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions
and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents
his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral
spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern
with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of
the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of
their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise
on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as
representative of a multilineage reservation community and as
one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the
generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire
ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilineal system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

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With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

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One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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[69] and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilineal marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

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[82] *Role of Ñillatufe: The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

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[613] Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in [628] the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations. [628] [626] [613]

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *Aillatun*. 622 793 794.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *Aillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group. 793 794 622 621 178 554

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 793 621 622 554 182 [114]

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182 difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and
 793 mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or
 554 marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the
 621 chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate
 622 to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness,
 [114] they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is
 ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual
 leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to
 [628] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look
 [769] elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to
 them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own
 authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the
 [613] *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on
 the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political
 affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constitu-
 ent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the
 formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Sub-
 ordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the
 segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of
 political and ritual integration (the one implying the other),
 the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community,
 and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of
 [754] situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

182 The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the
 554 *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of
 621 great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to
 622 his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community.
 793 This of course has great implications for the survival of the
 794 entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole.
 If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual
 leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant
 lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and
 there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as
 priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining com-
 munal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual
 congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.
 [571] The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony,
 796 is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche
 182 society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a
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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations
are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the
exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with
certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a
social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the
development of the present system of matrilineal marriage I
mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links,
many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of
these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation
society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take
wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several
reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differ-
entiated by the provenience of wives of members of the
sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there
is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from
one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relation-
ships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the
composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its
net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather
large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership)
population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
Ailatan congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will
discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *üllatun*, and
marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this
postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially
integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative
forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of
analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more
circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance
groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
 769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
 602 These are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
 613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
 598 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are
 relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected
 of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft, and
 complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so.
 Therefore, the remaining categories, persons related through an
 attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are intended strangers,
 who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm.
 [783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually
 clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral
 service.

764 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
 598 unknown. It also occurs between associated persons co-incident
 602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
 613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
 married women are in fact notorious partisans against one
 another, especially in the absence of lateral ties among them or
 their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one
 time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of
 causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of
 homicidal sorcery leveled against a lineage member, member of a
 wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship,
 or a associated person in the category of neighbor of long
 standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same
 ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant
 groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few
 generations ago, or those related through a modern marriage. A
 group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any
 discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the impossible
 774 action of the fore-boding forces of evil, one of the collectivity
 621 of beliefs. The comforting nature of this thought, viz-4-4 the
 182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lateral and residential
 segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
 [969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total
 assemblage at any funeral propounds specific accented opinion

The Ritual Congregation

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and shows deep sources for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within mortal man. The loss of a member is disturbing, devastating, since guilt is experienced because the members have not been prepared sufficiently to protect the living. Partial dismemberment and moral weakness are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compassion and decisiveness work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect act. Freedom from complexity, then, expressed in formal participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

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Concluding Remarks

Formal rites differ from festival rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given time. But in viewing festivals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The ritual and awe congregation comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the most powerful of beliefs and customs. I believe the enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to reinforce the social community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which narrations in any given region participate regularly in both awe and ritual. This I have done with some success in the Tibetan region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of narrations, and considering awe, ritual, and narrative elements. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of narrations which not only participate in ritual and awe but which is also related through narrative settings. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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 [14] significantly high correlation among the eighteen marriages indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expertly patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilineal marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapuche land indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tabán region.

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 000 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent marriages is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygamous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and avowry, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961: 196) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilineal marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Levi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization tells about the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

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 62 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of avowry and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

41 [Rustar: see category 116, p. 221, for connections --
 Andrew]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undiffer-
619 entiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
794 are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
613 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
582 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories
in Mapucheland



794 wife-receivers (*millan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

101 For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
103 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional
name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche

The Structure of Symbolic Values

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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilineal marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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108 The elementary-

HAWKS OF THE SUN

177 family household is emerging or has already
 178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
 594 cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
 613 tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
 433 reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
 589 corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
 matrilineal marriage system which depends on the stability of
 relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But
 to say simply that "the family" has become more important in
 Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to
 the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be
 to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the ab-
 sence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
 or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
 622 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
 554 of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
 kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
 769 hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger
 body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the
 past. His political and economic leadership, though changed,
 has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much
 more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
 178 social function of *ñillatun* and *awn* to the extent that these
 796 assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
 769 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
 794 than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
 today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
 794 tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
 794 givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of
 elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization
 of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes
 which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system.
 The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the
 last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in
 adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a
 result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are
 social changes resulting from external forces, and their
 cultural content is belief.